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ABSTRACT

The increased college attendance of mature women students has played a major role in the changing demographics of college enrollment. This study examined the experience of reentry women during the initial period of adjustment from the time just prior to college entrance to the end of their first or second academic year. A pre- and post-test academic longitudinal design was used to document the early transition experience of adult women (N=61) entering or returning to college. Measures used included the Identity Status Interview, the California Q-set, and the Tennessee Self Concept Scale. The results revealed that, although the subjects were in a transition that required adapting to a new role and incorporating that role into established patterns of work and family life, they exhibited relative stability in their identity status classifications. Changes occurring during the initial year of transition took place mainly in the vocational and spouse content areas and, for the most part, appeared to be progressive. Stability was more evident during the second year. An exploratory analysis was undertaken to examine how women who shifted in status classification might differ from women who did not change. Compared to changers, non-changers tended to be older, had higher self-esteem scores, and had lower scores on the Neuroticism factor of the California Q-set and higher scores on the Extraversion factor. (NB)

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Reentry Women Students: Identity Status Stability and Change During an "Off-time" Transition

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I would like to thank Stephen Hamilton and Eileen Driscoll who made available their excellent cartographic skills to help map this new terrain. I would also like to thank Daryl Bem, Mary Mallory, and Bill Trochim for their contributions to keeping older boundaries of construct validity in good repair.

In exploring "new frontiers" in ego identity research a relevant area of investigation concerns women's identity development during adulthood. While we think of identity formation as the developmental task of late adolescence, the decisions made during this time give direction to adult behavior and may or may not prepare the way for successful resolution of adult life crises. Few researchers have addressed the impact of salient identity issues during later stages of development. This issue is especially relevant for women, who may take different developmental pathways.

Erikson (1950, 1968) has already pointed out that his stage sequence of psychosocial development is somewhat different for the female. Identity is held in abeyance while the capacity for establishing loving relationships (Intimacy) takes precedence. For women, the developmental task of establishing intimacy often precedes or is concurrent with establishing a sense of identity (Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Gilligan, 1982). An independent sense of self appears to develop later in women than men. Women may have problems with individuation since their feminine identity has been defined through their attachment to others (Bardwick, 1971; Giele, 1978). Although we would not expect issues on identity for women in adulthood to be similar to those experienced as an adolescent, neither can we ignore that such issues may be salient in their lives. Gilligan (1977, 1982) and Rossi (1980) recognize that present theories are not sufficient and that within these models issues need to be explored that are relevant in the lives of women.

During the adult years, as our lives change through new and different experiences, it is likely that our perceptions of ourselves change as well. It is of interest to determine whether there may be characteristic times or developmental settings associated with the probability of a change in identity during adulthood. The research to be presented addressed this issue for adult women who were making a transition in their lives, entering a new setting,

college, and adapting to a new role, that of student.

The increased college attendance of mature women students (those who enter the postsecondary educational system as adults, generally 25 and over) has played a major role in the changing demographics of college enrollment. By 1980 almost one-third of all college students were older than 25 years of age; two-thirds of this population (or over three million adult learners) were women (Fisher-Thompson & Kuhn, 1981; Vance & Eiden, 1981). Projections for future enrollments indicate this trend will persist and possibly accelerate (Carnegie Council, 1980; NCES, 1985).

This study concerns the experience of women reentering the educational system during the initial period of adjustment from the time just prior to college entrance to the end of their first or second academic year. Life transitions (e.g., divorce, job changes, empty nest) often provide an incentive to return to college (Aslanian & Brickell, 1980). College entrance itself marks a time of change that gives an adult woman's life a new shape and direction. The developmental importance of ecological transitions derives from the fact that they invariably involve a change in role (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, Cross, 1981). As students, these women will face different demands and expectations and others will respond to them in new ways. By their nature role transitions pose potential challenges since they disrupt established patterns of behavior and require personal adjustment (George, 1980; Jacobi, 1987).

Traditionally, beginning college has been an age-graded life event; it usually follows a normative timetable. The timing of an event refers to its congruence with personal and societal expectations of when it "should" occur (Neugarten & Datan, 1974). The conditions surrounding the adult woman student who is "off time" may make it difficult for her to use the normal channels of

communication and support. Unlike traditional college students, the process of transition may be experienced amid competing commitments to full-time jobs and/or families.

There is recent evidence that the characteristics of adult women seeking formal education may be changing. Whereas women in the 1960s were concerned with making the initial move from homemaking to paid employment, women today are couching their decision to return to college in terms of selecting "a more appropriate, satisfying or promising career path" (Campbell, 1981 cited by Ekstrom & Marvel, 1985). The changing roles of women are reflected by their increased presence in undergraduate education, greater participation in the labor force, and investment in graduate and professional training. Viewed from a life-cycle perspective, single and married women who return to higher education in their 20s and early 30s face different psychological barriers from those who return in their 40s, or later. Women with young children have difficulties that are different from women who have children at or near ages when they will leave home. However, "among the common elements of psychological barriers for all women are the variables that relate to the development of a feminine identity centered primarily on the wife and mother roles and the accompanying delay in other definitions of the self" (Tittle & Denker, 1980:43).

On the basis of counseling college educated women, White suggests that women encounter a mid-life crisis at 37-38 years of age, when they review their present roles and plan for the future. She claims that all raise issues of identity and that as these women move away from heavy family responsibilities they either seek further education or a job in order to enrich their lives through further learning. White feels that this period is a time of potential growth (Giele, 1978).

Other studies of women at "mid-life" center on identity issues (Schlossberg & Waters, 1978; Sanguiliano, 1978; Rubin, 1979). Tittle and Denker (1980) who conducted interviews with returning women students feel that these issues apply equally well to women in their 20s and early 30s. The 30s appear to be a time of reassessment and turnabout. Stewart (1977) found that women who had committed themselves to the traditional maternal role early in life felt restive and were trying to find their way back into the world and marketplace, whereas women whose career objectives had taken precedence early on were turning toward marriage and motherhood with a sense of urgency.

Regardless of the processes that lead women to make different choices, the decisions themselves may have long term consequences. Choices appropriate at one stage of life may seem inappropriate later. Beginning or returning to college may be one way in which women attempt to build a new identity structure that can serve current or emerging developmental tasks.

Operationalizing Erikson's Concept of Ego Identity:

Based on Erikson's writings, Marcia constructed a semi-structured interview to assess the clarity of personal identity in different content areas and the process by which it develops. The hierarchical classification system is made up of four ego identity statuses: (a) identity achievement, (b) moratorium, (c) foreclosure, and (d) identity diffusion. Each status is defined by two dimensions: crisis and commitment. "Crisis" or exploration refers to a period of struggle or active deliberation in arriving at aspects of personal identity such as vocational choice and family roles. "Commitment" involves making a solid, unwavering decision in such areas and engaging in meaningful activity directed towards implementing that choice.

An "identity achiever" is someone who has experienced a period of critical exploration and has gone to develop firm commitments. A person in "moratorium" is one who is currently in a state of indecision and is attempting to arrive at a choice by exploring among viable alternatives. A person is classified as a "foreclosure" if he or she is committed to particular goals, values or beliefs, generally those which reflect the wishes of parents or other authority figures, and has not called those values into question. Individuals in "identity diffusion" have no firm commitments and are not actively trying to form them. They may never have experienced a crisis, or they may have engaged in a period of questioning without resolving identity issues and therefore did not commit themselves to a decision.

Change in identity status can be progressive or regressive. Progressive developmental shifts are from the identity diffusion status into either the foreclosure or moratorium status, from foreclosure into moratorium status, and from moratorium into the identity achievement status. Progressive movement involves either the active consideration of identity alternatives or the development of personally meaningful commitments. Regressive developmental shifts occur when there is movement from any status into the status of identity diffusion. This shift is indicative of temporarily putting aside identity concerns without having reached a satisfactory resolution. The shift from identity achievement to the moratorium status marks a continuation of the identity formation process rather than a renunciation of identity concerns. It is an attempt to make more rewarding choices and can be considered a resumption of crisis rather than a developmental regression (Waterman, 1982).

Josselson (1987) focused solely on women's pathways to identity development. She devised a new classification which represents an F/A continuum for women who were originally classified as moratorium and went on to make commitments that were "more or less" based on willful choice and "more or less" reflected a return to old values and life patterns. Marcia (1976) noted a somewhat different regressive phenomenon when former identity achievers were subsequently reclassified as foreclosures. These anomalies reflect ambiguities in the theoretical model and make clear the need for a fuller understanding of how identity issues are manifested in adulthood.

Nonetheless, the utility of Marcia'a model rests in the opportunity it affords to study the patterns of developmental paths among groups within a population (and between populations) and the circumstances that influence their adoption. Specifically it can be used as a tool to describe changes in identity that may occur in women during the transition to college. In studying adult women entering or reentering an educational environment the family roles, sex roles, and vocational dimensions of identity are relevant areas of investigation. While this study is more broadly conceived (Caracelli, 1986, Caracelli, 1988) within the framework of this model this paper will focus on the following questions:

Research Questions:

1. Is the expectation that a role transition of this nature will be associated with change in "Overall" identity status confirmed? Do reentry women manifest changes in "Overall" identity status classification during the first two years of their transition to college?

2. Is change more likely to occur in some content areas than in others? For example, we might expect change to primarily occur in the vocational content area given women reenter college, in part, to address issues regarding work and career goals.

3. Also of interest is whether change is progressive and follows the theoretically prescribed developmental sequence. In addition, is change more likely to take place from pre college entrance to the end of the first year or from the end of the first to the end of the second year?

4. What are the distinctive personal characteristics of women who changed compared to women who did not change in identity status classification?

Design and Method:

A pre and posttest academic year longitudinal design was used to document the early transition experience of adult women entering or returning to college. Essentially this design is cross-sequential. Following the pilot phase of this research which spanned the time period from pre-college entrance to the end of the first year of college, a second cohort of reentry women was added to the study. Women in the pilot study continued participation through the end of their second year in college. Since the questions to be explored do not address distinctions between college and non-college women, no control sample was obtained. Rather, the questions guiding the study concern changes from pre to posttest among women who return to college as well as ferreting out distinctions among subcategories of women within the sample. Longitudinal research, best suited for examining a time or transition, builds in a before-after design in which each woman can serve as her own control.

Sample:

Two cohorts of volunteer subjects were recruited from Fordham University's EXCEL program at the summer orientation sessions held in 1981 and 1982. The EXCEL program is a "special entry program for adults, leading to a B.A. degree". The establishment of this program in 1970, with its interdisciplinary focus and credit for life experience, represented a major effort on the part of the University to adapt their traditional liberal arts program to the needs of adult students by providing a bridge-program to college. There were no significant

differences between the cohorts (34 women who entered EXCEL in 1981 and 36 women who entered in 1982) on any of the major demographic variable or outcome variables of interest.

The combined sample of 70 women is fairly representative of entering classes: mean age 34, 30% minority women, majority attending evening classes. Slightly over one-third of the women had received credit for previous college courses (a criterion for sample selection set the limit of transfer credits at 25). Most of these women were in the labor force (77%) or intended to resume employment. Forty percent of the women lived with a spouse or mate and of these about one-third had children at home. Single mothers with children at home were approximately 16% of the sample. The remaining women were independent (without mate or children). (see Table 1)

Attrition

Nine participants were lost to the study by the end of their first year in college. One woman could not be located and two moved out of state. Five women withdrew during or after their first semester and were not planning to continue their education for the time being. One of these women found it difficult to manage parenting responsibilities while in college. Another woman, a single parent, cited "serious problems" at home. Two single women withdrew due to "excessive work commitments" and "desire to travel" respectively. Another woman left school to work with her mate in establishing a new business. The remaining woman completed her first year and planned to transfer to a college closer to her home because of changing circumstances in her personal life: remarriage and pregnancy. The remaining 61 women continued in the follow-up phase of data collection regardless of whether they completed their first year in college.

Measures:

Identity Status Interview: (J. Marcia, 1966, revised for adults by A. Waterman, 1982)

Identity issues were salient in exploratory interviews conducted with the first cohort or reentry women. Marcia's model which can serve as a means for categorizing women into different identity dimensions was selected as a framework to describe changes in identity that may occur in women during their transition to college. The interview was administered to the first cohort at the end of their first and second year of college, and to the second cohort prior to college entrance and at the end of their first year. The following content domains of the interview were selected for their relevance to identity issues in women's lives: role of spouse, role of parent, family and career priorities, women's roles and vocational issues.

Most interviews were conducted by the principal investigator at Fordham University; however, interviewing also took place at the home or workplace of the participants if necessary. On the average interviews were 1 1/2 to 2 1/2 hours in length. Four research assistants were trained by the principal investigator in scoring the identity status interview using Waterman's procedural manual as a guide. Due to the complex nature of the coding task it was decided that a pair of coders would code both of the subject's protocols in time order. While this decision might be open to criticism due to a lack of independence in coding, the procedure minimized obtaining anomalous codes. The gain in validity of classification by a coder's more comprehensive understanding of each woman was felt to outweigh the benefits of pre and post independent coding. Each content area was scored for crisis and commitment and women were classified into one of the four statuses for each content area. Women also were given an "overall"

identity status classification.[1] The overall percentage of agreement was 78.7% which is in accordance with reliabilities obtained in other studies using the identity interview procedure.[2]

California Q-set: (J. Block, 1961, modified by Bem & Funder, 1978)

This instrument was given to both cohorts of reentry women prior to college entrance and at the end of their first/second year of college in order to obtain a broad range of personality characteristics and to serve as a means of describing subgroups within the sample. The Q-set contains 100 descriptive personality statements (e.g. "has high aspiration level for self", "genuinely values intellectual and cognitive matters", etc.). Using a forced symmetric distribution each woman sorts the cards into nine categories ranging from those least to most characteristic of her personality. Thus each item receives a score of 1 to 9, and the distribution has a mean of 5 and a standard deviation of 2[3] (Appendix A).

Although the sort itself provides an overall description of the person, Bem and Funder (1978) developed a method of "template matching" in order to produce a more quantitative approach for testing specific hypotheses. In this method, a set of judges produce a "template", a Q-sort of a hypothetical prototype (e.g. the optimally adjusted profile). Each individual's Q-sort is then correlated with the template, producing a quantitative index of similarity. In this study templates were constructed for each of the four identity statuses based on criterion sorts completed by experts in the field. These templates were derived from Mallory's (1983) research in which ten professional identity researchers[1] used the 100 item California Q-set to describe the typical male or female in each

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[1] Sally Archer, James Donovan, Ruthellen Josselson, James Marcia, David Matteson, Jacob Orlofsky, Stephanie Tesch, Alan Waterman, Caroline Waterman, Susan Whitbourne.

status. There was substantial agreement among identity researchers as to the personality descriptions for each status, composite reliabilities ranged from .84 to .97 with an average reliability of .91.

In the present research each woman's Q-sort could be "scored" for identity status by comparisons with the female criterion sorts established by experts in the field. Thus, this research presented a unique opportunity to examine the construct validity of the identity status model by determining whether interview and Q-sort classifications were convergent. This analysis is presented in Appendix B.

In addition, a five factor model of personality has been devised from the personality items included in the California Q-set (McCrae, Costa & Busch, 1986). These factors include Neuroticism, Extraversion, Openness to Experience, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness and will be used to contrast women who change in identity status during the first two years of the transition to college with women who do not change in identity status classification during this period.

Tennessee Self Concept Scale: (Fitts, 1965)

The return to college involved a role transition that seemed likely to affect the self concept of these reentry women. This scale was administered to both cohorts of reentry women prior to college entrance and at the end of their first/second year of college. The TSCS contains 100 self descriptive statements that measure self concept across five general areas: physical self, moral-ethical self, personal self, family self, and social self. Each area is subdivided into statements on identity, self acceptance, and behavior. Only results that consider the self esteem subscale will be addressed here. Test-retest reliability for the normed sample over two weeks on the overall self-esteem score

was .90. Fitts (1965) cites a number of studies that indicate the scale has convergent, construct, and predictive validity.

Results:

Demographically women in the "overall" identity status classifications (A,M, & F) for the combined cohorts did not differ significantly on marital status, parenting status, living situation, race, or employment. As expected, achieved women were older ($\bar{X}$=37.14) but not significantly different in age from women in moratorium ($\bar{X}$=33.41) or women in the foreclosed classification ($\bar{X}$=34.96). Minority women and other women with competing roles (e.g. living with a spouse and/or having children at home) were more likely to be in one of the committed statuses.

Change Patterns in "Overall" Status Classifications During the Transition to College:

Pre college to end of first year

The stability and intraindividual change patterns for each cohort are illustrated in Table 2. Only the second reentry cohort was classified by identity status at precollege entrance. As we see in Table 2, nine of these 32 women, changed in overall classification. Three women met the criteria for Diffusion prior to college entrance and all moved to Moratorium, indicative of a more serious and guided attempt to clarify issues in the areas of spouse, vocation and women's roles. Two of these women were working out issues in multiple content domains which in part explains their original Diffusion classification, a classification that appears inappropriate given that entering college requires at least some degree of commitment.

The majority of this cohort (n=18) entered college with beliefs and values that had been longstanding, characteristic of the Foreclosure classification. The major finding was that when a shift in overall status occurred it was a shift to begin or renew a process of exploration of values and beliefs. Women who

began college in Moratorium remained engaged in that process. Several Foreclosures (n=4) entered a period of reevaluation during the course of the year. Even two women classified as Achieved were led to reevaluate their values and beliefs. Although we cannot say college, per se, accounted for these shifts, the college environment is thought to be conducive to challenging assumptions and fostering reconsideration of values. Except for those in the Diffused category, women who changed in "overall" identity classification experienced a shift in values in one of the following content areas: spouse, vocational issues, family and career priorities.

End of first to end of second year

Women in the first reentry cohort were only classified by identity status at the end of their first and second year of college. Eighteen of the twenty-five women who completed their second year of college were evenly distributed between two statuses characterized by commitment to values and beliefs: Achieved and Foreclosed. Only three women changed in "overall" status and these shifts were progressive. Two women in Moratorium gain a clarification of values that warranted reclassification to an Achieved status. One of these women clarified issues of uncertainty in the domains of spouse, parent and vocational issues. These shifts are in part her response to changing life circumstances. The marriage she was planning also required that she become a step-mother and entailed a move across the country. The other woman had resolved issues about parenting by considering adoption. The third woman experienced a shift from Foreclosure to Moratorium status in the content areas of spouse and family and career priorities. This woman was nearing the "empty nest" phase of her marriage and was reevaluating her marriage and family and career priorities with these changing circumstances in mind.

In comparison to the first year of transition to college, shifts in overall status were minimal and there is evidence of greater stability after the initial year of transition.

Change Patterns in Content Area Classifications During the Transition to College:

Pre college entrance to end of first year

A focus on overall classification masks changes that were occurring with regard to identity issues for more than half the women in this cohort. From the time prior to college entrance to the end of the first year, 19 (59.4%) of the women changed classification in one or more content areas (Table 3). Only three women changed classification in multiple domains. The general pattern was stability rather than change. Across content areas of spouse, parent, family & career priorities, and women's roles the pattern was commitment to established beliefs and values. Vocational issues is the content area that shows most evidence of exploration by these women both prior to college entrance and throughout the first year of college. Of the ten women who changed in status, three attain a commitment to newly formed vocational goals, the remainder either enter a state of confusion characteristic of the Diffusion status, or begin a concerted effort at exploring alternative vocational directions by entering the Moratorium status.

End of first to end of second year:

The women are most heavily represented in the Achieved and Foreclosure statuses for the content areas of role of spouse, role of parent, family and career priorities and women's roles. Basically, whether or not they previously went through a period of exploration as they continued their schooling, most women remained committed to their values and beliefs. Still, some changes were

apparent. Twelve women (48%) did change status in one or more areas; almost all change was progressive. The pattern when change occurred was a shift from Moratorium to Achieved or from Foreclosure to either Moratorium or Achieved.

As in the first year, the content area that shows the greatest evidence of exploration is vocational issues. Twelve women (48%) began their second year of college in a state of indecision about vocational direction. Over the course of the year two women gained a clarification that enabled them to take steps toward implementing specific career decisions. One woman who had been weighing career alternatives regressed to the Diffusion status. However, the apathy that was apparent when she discussed work related issues was due to demands and expectations in her supervisory position that she found oppressive because of her heartbreak over problems in her recent marriage.

What is most apparent when we look at this content area is that most women who were weighing career alternatives remained indecisive and unresolved and were unable to direct their studies with specific goals in mind. College for these women remained a tool of exploration. Women in this state of indecision after their second year began to feel a press both internally and externally from the college environment itself as decisions about choosing a major begin to give shape to the direction of their studies under conditions of uncertainty. The following abridged discussion concerning choice of major illustrates the quandary of a woman in a moratorium state regarding her future career path.

I: Do you feel you are trying to decide between Economics and Theater Arts as a major, of do you feel you've already made a decision?

R: Every semester that goes by I'm committing myself to certain courses. So you can't help not making a decision. The major drawback for Economics as a major is that it's not a creative field. There's that split again. I'm pushing myself in the business direction but I'm not sure if it's the right choice for me right now. I think there is a much greater likelihood for me to be successful in business. Even though, if I had my choice, my great love would be theater. I'm trying to be intelligent about it. I'm going to try to minor in Theater Arts which will allow me to explore that area.

I'm not really committed to anything. I'm in the process of finding out if I would be suited for certain areas of Theater Arts. It's a creative field but competitive. Can I survive? I mean, isn't this the bottom line? Can I survive in doing what I think I want to do versus can I compromise and do something else and still be happy? I think I compromise myself all the time and I think that's my error. I'm learning you should follow your natural flow. But I'm still not doing it. I'm still playing it safe. I'm terrified. But, I've taken the first baby step in exploring theater, allowing myself to open the door a little and peek in.

In comparison to women in their first year of college the concentration of change patterns in the vocational area abates. Although women remain mostly stable and committed in all content areas, the changes that do occur are more evenly distributed across content areas.

A Summary of Types of Changes During the Early and Later Phases of the Transition to College:

One of the objectives of the study was to determine whether the early phase of college experience would result in progressive change to higher levels of identity status. Table 4 depicts the type of change for each cohort. Although these women were in the process of making a transition that required adapting to a new role and incorporating that role into established patterns of work and family life, what is most apparent is the relative stability of the identity status classifications.

A number of changes do occur during the initial year of transition and take place mainly in the vocational and spouse content areas. For the most part change is progressive. A renewal of identity concerns took place for two women who had been classified as Achieved in Spouse and Family & Career content areas prior to college entrance and had entered a new phase of directed evaluation during their first year of college. In the vocational issues content area three women (one who began college in the Moratorium phase and two who began in Foreclosure) regressed to Diffusion status indicative of undirected exploration as previous goals and values were called into question.

Stability is more evident during the second year. When changes in identity status occur they are more evenly distributed across content areas. It appears that attention shifts from concentration on vocational issues to parental that may have been on hold during the period of adjustment or may be in the process of reevaluation as a result of the transition.

A Contrast of Identity Status Changers and Non-changers:

Did these reentry women evidence stability in their self-definition during the transition to college or were changes in personal identity apparent? The answer to this question is not unlike viewing the figure-ground photo printed in most introductory psychology texts where you first decide that what you see is a vase and on second glance notice the profiles of two faces. On the one hand there is evidence of stability, as we would expect in adults. Without a stable sense of self definition it is difficult to imagine how these women would be able to handle the tasks and responsibilities in work and family life that are incumbent upon them. Still it is evident that many changes were occurring within content areas. Sometimes these shifts warranted a change in "overall" status

classification. For example, during the initial year of college almost a third of these women do experience an overall shift to moratorium. For the most part, however, the impact on overall identity is more subtle, issues being generally addressed during this transition period in only one content area at a time.

The exploratory analysis that follows attempts to shed light on how women who actually shift in status classification might differ from women who do not change. For the purpose of this preliminary investigation a "Changer" is defined as any woman who changed status in one or more content areas during the two year period of transition. A "Non-changer" is defined as any woman who retained the same identity status classification at both measurement periods. Basically, change has been underestimated since the first reentry cohort did not have a pre college entrance identity status classification.

Demographically there were no significant differences between Changers and Non-changers on marital status, parenting status, living situation race or employment. There was a trend for age ($t(55) = 1.70$, $p.<10$) with Changers being in their early 30s ($\bar{x}=32.9$) and Non-changers over age 35 ($\bar{x}=36.4$).

On the TSCS Changers had lower on self-esteem scores at college entrance than Non-changers. Moreover, even when initial differences were controlled in an Analysis of Covariance, self-esteem scores differed significantly between the two groups by the end to the first year ($F(2,52) = 4.16$ $p.<.05$) with higher scores favoring Non-changers. This analysis reflects the extent to which changes in self-esteem during the first year of college are associated with changes in identity status during the two-year period of transition.

All women in the study had completed the California Q-set personality measure prior to college entrance and again at the end of their first year of college. This instrument affords an opportunity to comprehensively examine

differences in personality for these two groups of women. Table 5 reports the pre and posttest means on the five major factors of personality derived from the Q-set: Neuroticism, Extraversion, Openness to Experience, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness. Initial differences on these factors were controlled in an Analysis of Covariance. Again, we are looking at the extent to which personality changes during the first year of college are associated with change in identity status during the two year period of transition.

The results show significant differences at the .05 level between Changers and Non-changers on the factor of Neuroticism. Changers entered college with higher scores on Neuroticism and increased scores on this factor over the year, while Non-changers experienced a slight decrease. Women who score high on this factor are more likely to compare themselves with others, seek reassurance and generally feel less satisfied with themselves. The factor itself includes Q-items such as feeling basically anxious, irritable, vulnerable, defensive and self-defeating which are contrasted to scores on items such as interesting, cheerful and objective. On individual Q-items within this factor, Non-changers were more likely to perceive themselves as calm and relaxed ($t(52) = 2.28$, $p. < .03$) and as having a consistent, clear-cut personality ($t(52) = 2.53$, $p. < .01$).

Also significant differences were obtained between Non-changers and Changers on the factor of Extraversion. This factor encompasses Q-items that are related to the social self aspects of personality. Persons scoring high on this factor are more likely to perceive themselves as talkative, gregarious, and socially poised. Lower scores are indicative of avoiding close interpersonal relationships, tending toward overcontrol, and emotional blandness. Within this factor Non-changers were higher on Q-items such as skilled in social techniques

of imaginative play, pretending and humor, rapid tempo, tends to arouse liking and acceptance. These differences were significant at the .01 level.

Both Changers and Non-changers had in common the decision to resume their education. As we might expect, they were quite comparable on the factor of Openness to Experience. Characteristic items on this factor include having a wide range of interests, being aesthetically reactive and valuing intellectual matters.

Changers are lower on Agreeableness than Non-changers. These differences are not significant but the reported means indicate that during the initial year of transition a decline on this factor was more apparent for Changers. Q-items that contribute to high scores on this factor include perceptions that one is sympathetic, considerate, warm, compassionate, and behaves in a giving way toward others.

The defining characteristics of the Conscientiousness factor are high aspiration level, productive, dependable, responsible, ethically consistent, in contrast to undercontrol of impulses and erotic and sensual interest. There were no significant differences between Changers and Non-changers on this factor.

We might infer from viewing these results that women who shifted certain identity elements experienced heightened anxiety, were less self-assured and lower in self-esteem than women who did not. Shifts to moratorium or diffused by definition mean the equilibrium of one's identity structure has been disrupted. Shifts from moratorium to achieved are more likely to indicate that an integration of new identity elements has taken place.

There are two important caveats to keep in mind in interpreting the results presented here. No distinction has been made by type of change, although we know from the preceding analysis of intraindividual change patterns that most change

was progressive. This progression often represented time spent in Moratorium during the school year. For example, during the early phase of the transition 23 shifts are reported. Ninety-one percent of these shifts represent passage into moratorium (n=13) or out of moratorium (n=8). In the later phase of the transition 18 shifts are noted. Eighty-three percent of the shifts involve passage into moratorium (n=8) or out of moratorium (n=7). The small sample size and differences in time of measurement for both cohorts preclude more rigorous and definitive analyses. The results presented here are therefore speculative and are offered as grist for the theoretical mill. Their importance lies more in calling for empirical work that can better explicate the process of identity change in the lives of adult women and how the sequence of life events impacts on how such change is experienced.

Discussion:

We need to keep in mind that in terms of personality, the self-sorts (i.e., self-perceptions) of these women closely matched the personality profile of the Achieved prototype developed by experts in the field of ego identity research. It is quite possible the sample as a whole would appear relatively achieved if compared with other women who were not experiencing role transitions. We can also speculate that college entry itself may be precipitated by an identity crisis and may represent, in part, a resolution of crisis. However, we cannot determine that such is the case without a longitudinal study that predates the decision to return to college. The identity status interview was able to draw distinctions among women in this sample. Three-quarters of the women who were interviewed prior to college entrance are represented in the committed statuses: Achieved and Foreclosed. For the most part they enter college with a stable sense of self-definition whether or not they previously reevaluated aspects of

their identity in the content domains of spouse, parent, family and career priorities and women's roles. In this sample, Achieved women were higher than experts predict on the personality factor of Neuroticism and Foreclosed women were higher than predicted on Openness. Therefore, these two classifications are less polarized than we find in studies with adolescents. In fact, it is difficult to imagine that one can face the role changes and responsibilities of adulthood with the rigidity of adherence to values that characterizes the Foreclosed adolescent. It is easier to determine a classification of Achieved because we can infer from reported value changes that there was a moratorium phase even if it is not vividly described. Some women classified as Foreclosed may go through a similar process of exploration and reach resolution by a reaffirmation of values that were longstanding. This reaffirmation would represent an integration of values into one's core sense of self rather than adherence to values held by one's family of origin or others significant to the individual. Time of measurement may miss this moratorium phase, or the women themselves may underreport crisis when values maintain continuity over time.

A well-established sense of identity may be an important precursor in facilitating the decision to reenter college "off-time". These women had placed themselves in a situation where they would be faced with different demands and expectations that were concomitant with their new role as a student. The challenges associated with an ecological transition of this nature led us to inquire whether these women would manifest changes in "overall" identity during the first two years of their transition to college. For the most part the core identity orientation remains stable. Those changes that did occur were more apparent during the initial year of transition when nearly a third of the women shift into Moratorium. For some women the shift meant a more directed attempt to

clarify aspects of their identity, for others it represented disruption in established values and beliefs.

In addition to an "overall" identity orientation, the following content areas were separately examined: role of spouse, role of parent, family and career priorities, women's roles and vocational issues. Of interest, was whether some content areas might manifest more change than others and the type of change that occurs. Since women enter college, in part, to address work and career goals the expectation was that this content area would be a focal point of change. Flux in this domain was already apparent at college entrance, since this is the only content area in which women were predominantly in the uncommitted statuses of Moratorium and Diffusion. While the main finding during the first year of college was stability across all content domains, the changes that did occur were primarily in the vocational content domain (31.27%) and secondarily in role of spouse (18.76%). During the second year the changes that occur are more evenly distributed across content areas. It appears that aspects of identity that have to do with parenting may have been on hold during the early phase of adjusting to the student role or may be in the process of reevaluation as a result of the transition. What is also evident is that there is no quick resolution for those in vocational moratorium. In both cohorts, women who begin the school year in Moratorium remain in a state of indecision at the end of the year. Adulthood may bring with it a tolerance for ambiguity and an ability to delay gratification that is not characteristic of adolescents who seek an early resolution to moratorium issues. This does not mean that the process of redefining identity elements is less stressful for adults. To be in Moratorium is not an end unto itself. It is always a state of transition and redefinition, a process that requires further explication in the literature for both adolescents and adults.

The longitudinal nature of this study offers an avenue for such exploration. Women who changed in identity status during the first two years of transition were contrasted on personal characteristics with women who retained their identity classification at both measurement periods. While most change was progressive, shifts in identity status meant that most women had either entered a moratorium phase or were moving out moratorium.

During the early phase of the transition to college self-esteem scores for Changers decrease significantly relative to Non-changers. In addition, scores on the personality dimension of Neuroticism significantly increase for Changers and these women are less extraverted during the initial adjustment period than are Non-changers. As previously noted, the results are speculative but suggest that the process of shifting identity elements for these adult women was associated with increased anxiety and a lack of self assurance. The need for social and institutional support during this time may be greater for these women.

What is needed is additional empirical work that can help us understand the process of identity change in the lives of adult women. Josselson's (1987) major longitudinal study sheds light on identity development in adult women who sequenced their lives more conventionally. The women in her sample had attended college following high school graduation and in their early 30s evidence stability in their identity structure. In this study, by the end of the first year in college over a third of the women in the study have a core or "overall" identity classification of Moratorium. They have not sequenced their lives in an expected fashion and their return to college "off-time" takes place when commitments must also be met to work and family life. The variety of patterns of women's lives as they sequence marriage and parenting, leave and reenter both education and employment pose challenges for those who wish to explicate the

process of identity stability and change in adulthood. This "new frontier" of identity research is relatively uncharted and is an important domain of exploration for future empirical work.

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Notes:

1. The following procedure was used to assign an "overall" identity status classification. Ratings were summed over the content areas. A point was added to this sum for the most frequently occurring status, two points for the status in the content area that was perceived by the coders as most important to the respondent, and an additional point to the status assigned by coders as representing their clinical judgment.

For example, if a woman was rated as achieved in four content domains, but was rated as moratorium for vocational issues, she would receive four points for achieved and one point for moratorium. She would receive an additional point for achieved since it was the most frequently occurring status. If the coders judged the vocational domain to be most important to her, then she would receive two additional points for moratorium. In this case even if the clinical judgment was in favor of an overall classification of moratorium, the woman would receive an overall classification of achieved because of the number of points accumulated in that category. A tie can occur when a participant has an even number of points for final assignment into either of two identity status categories. There were five ties in this study and in those cases each woman was assigned to the higher developmental level of the two statuses.

Two modifications were made to Waterman's procedure in order to reduce the amount of clinical judgment and improve reliability. Except in the case of ties the developmentally latest status was not weighted due to conflicting results in the literature about the developmental sequence for women. In addition, weighting the "clearest, most classic status shown by the respondent" was omitted because of its similarity to weighting the clinical impression of the scorer.

2. Out of the 126 identity status interviews, four were used in training sessions with all coders for purposes of establishing consensual agreement. For additional training, eighteen of the interviews were triple coded. Two research assistants independently classified the women and then met together to resolve disagreements. Both coders then met with the principal investigator who had also independently coded the protocol. After the training phase was completed research assistants were paired and later rotated to avoid possible bias by any one coder. This procedure was followed for 68.3% (n=71) of the remaining interviews. In four cases consensual agreement could not be reached and the protocol was referred to the principal investigator who finalized the coding classification. In the final phase, after research assistants were thoroughly trained and experienced in coding procedures, coding of the remaining interviews was done independently. Nineteen interviews were scored by the principal investigator; the remaining fourteen were scored by two research assistants with the principal investigator as overseer.

Intercoder agreement prior to resolving discrepancies for "double coded" interviews was 80.3%. It should be noted that two interviews accounted for fourteen disagreements and lowered reliability form a possible 84.5%. Reliability for "triple coded" interviews prior to resolution of discrepancies was 73.6%. Again, one interview with seven disagreements lowered reliability form a possible 80%. In summary, it was possible to obtain a percentage of agreement for 89 of the 126 interviews. Interjudge reliability was 78.7%.

3. A score of 9=most characteristic (5 items), 8=quite characteristic (8 items), 7=fairly characteristic (12 items), 6=somewhat characteristic (16 items), 5=neither characteristic nor uncharacteristic (18 items), 4=somewhat uncharacteristic (16 items), 3=fairly uncharacteristic (12 items), 2=quite uncharacteristic (8 items), 1=least characteristic (5 items)

Table 1

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS AT COLLEGE ENTRANCE

Demographic Characteristics: n=70

	mean	range
Age	34.47	22-55

	percent	number
Minority Women	30	21
Employed Women	77.1	54
Women with Mate only	27.1	19
Women with Mate & Children at Home	12.8	9
Single Parent with Children at Home	15.7	11
Women Without Mate or Children	44.2	31

Table 2

Stability and Intraindividual Change Patterns

For "Overall" Identity Status Classifications

	Pre College		End of 1st. Yr.	
Overall Classification:	N	%	N	%
Achieved	6	(18.8)	4	(12.50)
Moratorium	5	(15.6)	14	(43.75)
Foreclosed	18	(56.2)	14	(43.75)
Diffusion	3	(9.4)	0	

	End of 1st. Yr.		End of 2nd. Yr.	
	N	%	N	%
Achieved	9	(36)	11	(44)
Moratorium	6	(24)	5	(20)
Foreclosed	9	(36)	8	(32)
Diffused	1	(4)	1	(4)

Table 3

Stability and Intraindividual Change Patterns
for Content Domain Identity Status Classifications

		Pre College (n=32) N	%	End of 1st. N	%	End of 1st. (n=25) N	%	End of 2nd. N	%
Spouse	A	8	(25)	9	(28)	11	(44)	12	(48)
	M	6	(19)	8	(25)	2	(8)	4	(16)
	F	16	(50)	14	(44)	11	(44)	9	(36)
	D	2	(6)	1	(3)	1	(4)	0	
Parent	A	10	(31)	10	(31)	7	(28)	9	(36)
	M	0		0		3	(12)	3	(12)
	F	21	(66)	21	(66)	13	(52)	12	(48)
	D	1	(3)	1	(3)	2	(8)	1	(4)
Family & Career	A	8	(25)	7	(22)	7	(28)	10	(40)
	M	2	(6)	5	(16)	2	(8)	1	(4)
	F	21	(66)	19	(59)	15	(60)	13	(52)
	D	1	(3)	1	(3)	1	(4)	1	(4)
							(n=24)		
Women's Roles	A	5	(16)	7	(22)	3	(12)	3	(12)
	M	8	(25)	8	(25)	1	(4)	4	(17)
	F	19	(59)	17	(53)	20	(83)	17	(71)
	D	0		0		0		0	
Vocation	A	2	(6)	5	(16)	5	(20)	7	(28)
	M	14	(44)	14	(44)	12	(48)	9	(36)
	F	11	(34)	8	(25)	6	(24)	6	(24)
	D	5	(16)	5	(16)	2	(8)	3	(12)

Table 4

Type of Change by Cohort for Content Areas and "Overall" Status

Pre College to End of First Year:
(n=32)

	No Change		Advancement		Regression*	
Identity Domain	N	%	N	%	N	%
Spouse	26	81.24	5	15.63	1	3.13
Parent	32	100.00				
Fam & Career	29	90.62	2	6.25	1	3.13
Women's Roles	28	87.50	4	12.50		
Vocation	22	68.73	7	21.89	3	9.38
"Overall"	23	71.87	7	21.88	2	6.25

* At least half of these shifts were from Achieved to Moratorium indicating a renewal of the identity formation process. Only the vocational content area evidenced shifts to the diffusion status.

End of First Year to End of Second Year:
(n=25)

	No Change		Advancement		Regression	
Identity Domain	N	%	N	%	N	%
Spouse	21	84	4	16		
Parent	21	84	4	16		
Fam & Career	21	84	4	16		
Women's Roles	21	85	3	15		
Vocation	22	88	2	8	1	4
"Overall"	22	88	3	12		

Table 5

PRE AND POSTTEST MEAN SCORES ON FIVE FACTORS OF PERSONALITY

Factors		CHANGERS (n=26)		NON-CHANGERS (n=25)			
		mean	sd	mean	sd	F	p
NEUROTICISM	pretest	21.23	15.60	15.84	14.70		
	posttest	26.65	17.63	14.72	14.77	5.29	.03*
EXTRAVERSION	pretest	34.62	9.38	36.36	10.79		
	posttest	33.04	9.92	38.72	11.11	4.07	.05*
OPENNESS	pretest	12.15	9.69	11.12	7.92		
	posttest	11.85	8.93	10.72	8.14	.05	.82
AGREEABLENESS	pretest	5.81	9.21	12.80	8.80		
	posttest	3.62	13.34	11.96	7.78	2.20	.14
CONSCIENTIOUSNESS	pretest	-2.65	7.40	1.60	6.18		
	posttest	-2.19	9.67	2.08	6.44	.56	.46

These differences were tested in an Analysis of Covariance controlling for pretest score.

* $p<.05$

CALIFORNIA Q-SET

J. Block, modified by D. Bem

1. Critical, skeptical
2. Dependable, responsible
3. Wide interests
4. Talkative
5. Giving
6. Fastidious
7. Conservative values
8. Intelligent
9. Uncomfortable with uncertainty, complexity
10. Anxiety finds outlet in bodily symptoms
11. Protective of those close to him/her
12. Self-protective
13. Thin-skinned
14. Submissive
15. Skilled in imaginative play, humor
16. Introspective
17. Sympathetic, considerate
18. Initiates humor
19. Seeks reassurance
20. Rapid personal tempo
21. Arouses nurturance
22. Feels lack of personal meaning
23. Extrapunitive, projects blame
24. Prides self on being "objective", rational
25. Over-controlled
26. Productive
27. Condescending
28. Arouses liking, acceptance
29. Turned to for advice, reassurance
30. Gives up in face of frustration
31. Regards self as attractive
32. Aware of impression he/she makes
33. Calm, relaxed
34. Over-reactive to frustration, irritable
35. Warm, capacity for close relationships
36. Negativistic; obstructs, sabotages
37. Guileful, manipulative, opportunistic
38. Has hostility
39. Unusual, unconventional thinking
40. Vulnerable to threat
41. Moralistic
42. Delays or avoids action
43. Facially/gesturally expressive
44. Evaluates motivation of others
45. Brittle ego-defenses
46. Daydreams, fantasizes
47. Feels guilty readily
48. Keeps people at distance
49. Basically distrustful of others
50. Unpredictable, changeable
51. Values intellectual & cognitive matters
52. Assertive
53. Unable to delay gratification, undercontro
54. Gregarious
55. Self-defeating
56. Responds to humor
57. Interesting, arresting
58. Enjoys sensuous experiences
59. Concerned with bodily functioning
60. Has insight into own motives & behavior
61. Creates and exploits dependency
62. Rebellious, non-conforming
63. Judges self/others in conventional terms
64. Socially perceptive
65. Stretches limits
66. Esthetically reactive
67. Self-indulgent
68. Basically anxious
69. Sensitive to demands
70. Ethically consistent
71. High aspiration level
72. Concerned with own adequacy
73. Eroticizes situations; perceives sexuality
74. Self-satisfied
75. Consistent, clear-cut personality
76. Projects feelings/motivations onto others
77. Appears straightforward, candid
78. Feels cheated/victimized; self-pitying
79. Ruminates, pre-occupying thoughts
80. Interested in opposite sex
81. Physically attractive
82. Fluctuating moods
83. Sees to heart of important problems
84. Cheerful
85. Emphasizes action, non-verbal behavior
86. Repressive
87. Interprets simple situations complicatedly
88. Personally charming
89. Compares self to others
90. Concerned with philosophical problems
91. Power oriented; values power
92. Social poise; socially at ease
93. Masculine (males); Feminine (females)
94. Expresses hostility directly
95. Offers advice
96. Values independence, autonomy
97. Emotionally bland; flattened affect
98. Verbally fluent; expresses ideas well
99. Self-dramatizing; histrionic
100. Does not vary roles; relates same to all

Appendix B

Concurrent Use of the California Q-set and Identity Status Interview for Identity Classification:

It is reasonable to assume that when these women broadly framed the purpose of resuming formal education in terms of enhancing personal development and career goals they were dealing with issues concerning identity. Administration of the California Q-set provided a means by which we could describe these reentry women based on their own perceptions of salient personality characteristics. Another purpose in administering this measure is related to issues about aspects of identity development and will be addressed here.

While the identity status interview (Marcia, 1966) had tested its mettle in extensive empirical work with adolescents, research using the revised version for adults has been relatively recent and the adequacy of this measure for adult women is still being explored. Fortuitously, reliance on a single measure in virtually uncharted waters was unnecessary. Women in the study had completed the California Q-set (Block, 1961) which in recent research (Mallory, 1983) had served to classify adolescents and adults into aspects of identity development that were defined by experts in the field of identity to be synonymous with classifications that could be obtained by the interview procedure. The two measures had never been used concurrently in a research project and their ability to demonstrate convergence on the construct of identity was undetermined.

The benefits of using both measures in this study were multiple. First, demonstrated convergence in classification by both measurement procedures would strengthen the validity of the identity status model. Further, convergence would provide a vote of confidence for the suitability of the model with adult women. Secondly, the California Q-set can offer a more holistic view of personality characteristics as they relate to women in different identity status classifications than previous studies which generally distinguish the identity status dimensions along one or two variables of interest. Also, a comparative assessment of stability and change in personality across identified subgroups within the sample could be undertaken.

In view of the lack of convergence in classification by California Q-set and the Identity Status Interview in this study an examination of the construct validity of the identity status model will follow. This discussion will provide us with the caveats we need to keep in mind as the transition experience of these reentry women is described in conjunction with the assessment of stability and change in levels of identity development.

The Construct Validity of the Identity Status Model:

The identity status interview introduced by James Marcia in 1966 appeared to circumvent many of the previous shortcomings of questionnaire, Q-sort, and other self-rating measures of identity (Bourne, 1978a) and appears to have become part of identity theory itself (Marcia, 1980). In view of the abundant research the identity status approach has generated and will continue to elicit, the overall validity of Marcia's method as a theoretical and empirical approach to the study of ego identity must continue to be assessed. Failure to do so leaves us open

to the danger of reifying the measurement procedure and thereby limiting possibilities for broadening our theoretical understanding of the construct of identity.

While extensive work has taken place in validating the identity status approach (see Marcia, 1966, 1967; Bourne, 1978a, 1978b; Marcia, 1980; Waterman 1982; Whitbourne & Winstock, 1979) most of this work has focused on establishing the discriminant validity of the statuses. The typical study focuses on a type of dependent variable (e.g. cognitive, behavioral, personality, developmental) examined in relation to ego identity status (i.e., Achievement, Moratorium, Foreclosure, Diffusion). In addition, studies have been fairly limited in how they assess personality variables. The five variables that have received most attention are authoritarianism, anxiety, self-esteem, internal locus of control and cooperativeness and competitiveness (Bourne,1978a). Even fewer studies have examined the issue of convergent validity which is also a necessary component to establishing construct validity (Campbell & Fiske, 1959).

Mallory's (1983) research was an attempt to address a deficiency in the identity status model, essentially the ad hoc definition of the statuses which was accomplished by assigning subjects to a status on the basis of crisis and commitment judgments and then comparing individuals in the four statuses on a variety of personality and cognitive variables. Characteristics of these subject populations became the defining characteristics of the identity statuses themselves. Her research established consensual definitions of the four statuses by having experts in the field of identity research define the personality configuration of each status.

Q-sort correlations were used to classify subjects from the Berkeley Guidance and Oakland Growth Studies (Block, 1971) by ego identity status at each of four points in time: JHS, SHS, age 30/37, age 40/47. This was accomplished by correlating each subject/age profile with four "ideal type" criterion profiles describing Marcia's ego identity statuses. The data consist of a set of four congruence scores for each subject at each age. Each congruence score is based on the correlation between the subject's Q-sort profile and one of the four criterion profiles. This study is one of the few in the identity status literature that takes into account longitudinal changes over an extended period of time (1933-1968).

In comparing the correlations of the female prototypes it appeared that the characteristics of Moratorium women (r=.41) were more similar to the Achieved criterion profile than those of Foreclosed women (r=.13). The female Foreclosure profile was negatively related to Identity Diffusion (r=-.39) while the Moratorium profile was unrelated to it (r=-.02). Such intercorrelations would make it impossible to locate the M & F statuses as intermediate points on a linear continuum of identity with A & D as polar end points. Mallory concluded from additional correlations with the "optimally adjusted" profile created by Block (1971) that the Moratorium profile holds an intermediate position between Achieved and Diffused with Foreclosure standing apart as a unique identity style unrelated to maturity or adjustment.

Mallory concludes that the strong reliability of the composites and their efficient discrimination of the four statuses would appear to make these profiles acceptable criteria for the determination of identity status by Q-sort correlation. This conclusion begs the question as to whether classification by

use of the California Q-set can actually serve as a proxy measure for the more traditional classification by identity status interview.

The present research affords an opportunity to address this issue and the more general issue of personality measurement within the identity status model. Both cohorts of women who were reentering college were given both the California Q-set and the Identity Status Interview as part of examining intraindividual changes during the transition. The California Q-set modified by Bem & Funder (1978) was used so that participants could self-sort their personality characteristics. Women's self-sorts were correlated with the four prototypes in accordance with Mallory's criteria in order to determine if interview coding classifications matched Q-sort coding classifications. The correlations among statuses by interview classification given in Table B-1 show the basic homogeneity of the sample in terms of personality characteristics. Further, the correlations among statuses comparing the Q-sorts of women based on the interview classification with the prototypes indicates that based solely on Q-sort classification the majority of the sample would have been considered Achieved.

The Five Factor Model of Personality: A Pattern Matching Device for Identity Status Classifications Based on Q-sort and Interview Approaches

The lack of convergence in identity status classification by means of these two measuring devices requires elaboration. We can do this by taking advantage of recent advances that the field of personality research has made toward the goal of developing a comprehensive description and classification of individual differences in personality. With some variation, recent replications of the five factor model originally proposed by Tupes & Christal (1961) and Norman (1963) support the notion that the dimensions of Neuroticism, Extraversion, Openness to Experience, Agreeableness and Conscientiousness are necessary and reasonably sufficient for describing the major features of personality (Amelang & Borkenau, 1982; Digman & Takemoto-Chock, 1981; Goldberg, 1981; Bond,Nakazato & Shiraiski, 1975).

One significance of these findings is that each of these five dimensions offers important information on the characteristic functioning of the individual. Recently the five factor model has been recovered from the personality items included in Block's (1961) California Q-Set (McCrae, Costa & Busch, 1986). The Q-Set can thereby be used as a tool for organizing detailed information into a framework that can facilitate useful comparisons. Essentially, this is the "pattern matching" approach advocated by Trochim (in press) in which theoretical predictions are matched to obtained patterns in the data and tested for goodness-of-fit.

A complete list of the Q-items that define each factor is provided in Appendix C. The following abridged list of items captures the essence of each dimension.

<u>Neuroticism:</u> This factor includes Q-items such as feeling basically anxious, irritable, vulnerable, defensive and self-defeating which are contrasted to scores on items like calm, relaxed, cheerful, objective and interesting. Persons scoring high on this factor are more likely to compare themselves with others, seek reassurance and generally feel less satisfied with themselves.

<u>Extraversion:</u> This factor encompasses Q-items that are related to the

social self aspects of personality. For example, it would be more characteristic of persons scoring high on this factor to perceive themselves as talkative, gregarious and socially poised. Low scores are indicative of avoiding close interpersonal relationships, tending toward overcontrol, and emotional blandness.

Openness to Experience: Characteristic items on this factor include having a wide range of interests, being aesthetically reactive and valuing intellectual matters. Q-items at the low end of the Openness factor include favoring conservative values, judging self and others in conventional terms, and engaging in sex role stereotyped behavior.

Agreeableness: Q-items contributing to high scores on this factor include perceptions that one is sympathetic, considerate, warm compassionate, and behaves in a giving way toward others. High scores on uncharacteristic items included in this factor would indicate a tendency to engage in condescending and hostile behavior, and to be power oriented.

Conscientiousness: Defining characteristics of this factor are high aspiration level, productive, dependable, responsible, ethically consistent in contrast to undercontrol of impulses and erotic and sensual interest.

Standardized T-scores ($\bar{x}$=50, s.d.=10) were used to compare the Identity Status Prototype Q-sorts with Q-sorts of reentry women on the five factor model. Although women may have been classified as Diffused within certain content areas, only one woman received an overall classification of Diffused precluding a comparison with the Diffused Prototype across the five factors. This underrepresentation would be expected in a sample of women who were committing themselves to such a transition. This analysis will center on a comparison of the reentry women's Q-sorts with the Achieved, Foreclosed, and Moratorium Prototypic Q-sorts. However a brief mention will be made of where the Diffusion Prototype stands relative to the other statuses according to the five factor model. The personality descriptions provided by identity researchers indicate that women classified as Identity Diffused should be highest in comparison to other statuses on Neuroticism, and lowest on Extraversion, Agreeableness and Conscientiousness. On The dimension of Openness the female Diffused Prototype was expected to be less open than persons in Achieved or Moratorium but more open than someone closely matched in personality with the Foreclosure Prototype.

Figure B-1 compares the composite sorts defined by identity researchers for each status across the five factors with the Q-sorts of re-entry women who were classified by means of the Identity Status interview. If reentry women had been classified solely on the basis of congruence scores with the status prototypes 78.7% of the sample (n=61) would have been scored as Achieved (the prototype with which individual sorts correlated most highly). Since finer distinctions were drawn by using the Identity Status interview a comparison of patterns illustrating points of convergence and divergence in the two classification schemes is necessary.

On the dimension of Neuroticism identity status researchers predict highest scores for Moratorium women in comparison to women Achievers or Foreclosures. Highest scores on this dimension for reentry women were obtained for those in Moratorium. Moreover, when initial differences in pre-college entrance personality characteristics were controlled in an Analysis of Covariance, women in Moratorium showed an increase on the factor of Neuroticism in comparison to

the other women at the end of the academic year ($F(3,43) = 4.51$, $p < .02$). It would appear that the indecisiveness associated with the exploration that is characteristic of the Moratorium status exacerbates those characteristics which contribute to higher scores on Neuroticism the longer the decision making process remains unresolved. Reentry Foreclosures were fairly well matched with identity experts' predictions, whereas scores on Neuroticism for reentry Achievers were higher than predicted (Interview A $\bar{x}$=49.22, Prototype A $\bar{x}$=37.94).

The Moratorium Prototype was also expected to score highest on the dimensions of Extraversion and Openness, with the Achieved Prototype obtaining the next highest scores, Foreclosures would follow on Extraversion, while Diffusions would follow on Openness. In the sample of reentry women highest scores on these dimensions were obtained by Achievers with scores closely matching those of the Achieved prototype. Considering only women who completed their first year of college, reentry Achievers were significantly higher on Extraversion than women in the Moratorium and Foreclosure statuses ($t(45) = 2.86$, $p < .01$). What is noteworthy is that women in Moratorium scored lower than expected on Extraversion and Openness. It would appear that in addition to scoring high on Neuroticism these women were also less likely to benefit from the adaptive coping mechanisms that higher scores on these dimensions would offer the more typical female Moratorium.

On the Agreeableness dimension the obtained pattern of scores fell in the direction expected by Identity Status researchers. Reentry women Achievers scored highest followed by Foreclosures and Moratorium women. On the Conscientiousness dimension, highest scores were predicted for the Achieved women but were obtained by reentry women in the Foreclosure category. However scores for reentry women in both the Foreclosure and Achieved categories were quite similar (A $\bar{x}$=50.32, F $\bar{x}$=52.31), though lower than predicted by the experts. In fact, the obtained pattern for Foreclosures and Achievers are quite comparable. While Achievers do appear to be more Extraverted, higher than expected scores on Neuroticism coupled with the Foreclosures higher than expected scores on Openness make both groups less polarized.

Relying on a correlation between subjects' Q-sorts and Prototype Q-sorts for identity classification obscures these differences and most likely accounts for the fact that the majority of the sample would have been classified as Achieved if the Q-Set was used as the only classification instrument.

The Identity Status literature has kept an open debate as to whether the Foreclosure status is more adaptive for women than for men. The developmental sequence of the identity statuses has been posited as D,F,M,A. In the early 70s research indicated that for women, Achievers and Forclosures tend to behave as a group distinct from Moratoriums and Diffusions (Marcia & Friedman, 1970; Toder & Marcia, 1973; Schenkel, 1975). These results however were not replicated by Schenkel & Marcia (1972) and contradictory findings were obtained by Orlofsky (1977). It has been hypothesized that with the growth of the women's movement the adaptiveness of the Foreclosure status would be reduced. While this sample of reentry women appear to support the notion that the Foreclosure status is more closely aligned to Achieved than Moratorium, it is also possible that the overall classification is, in part, an artifact of the content areas used. For example, Role of Spouse and Role of Parent were included because of their pertinence to women's lives at the expense of more global areas such as religion and politics that are frequently used in identity status research. Foreclosure ratings within

these content domains would generally indicate internalized values and expectations that these "conventional" roles will be fulfilled. In popular press the "Superwoman Syndrome" indicates that while identity may seek expression in vocational areas, the fact that certain other aspects of identity may be conventional does not make them less valued or desired.

While the content areas may in part account for the discrepancy between interview and Q-sort Identity Status classification it may not be the only or even the most valid reason. The following paraphrased statement by one of the coders captures a theme present in each of the audit papers provided by the research assistants at the conclusion of the coding process:

> There appears to be another type of foreclosed who is similar to an achieved woman in the sense that her core values appear to be her own, not parentally or other determined, but self-determined. These foreclosed women tend to be self aware, more secure, less defensive, and rather independent.[2]

We need to keep in mind that the bulk of theory that surrounds the identity status model grew out of research that was, for the most part, conducted with adolescent males. As Bourne (1978b:379) presaged in discussing the extension of the identity status approach to different cultures and age groups, "it may be found that characteristic routes of identity consolidation differ sufficiently from the American Collegiate prototype to require greatly altered or altogether new identity types".

Nonetheless, one dilemma for researchers attempting to establish convergent validity is that failure to do so brings with it the concomitant dilemma of whether the problem is with the construct or one or both of the measures of the construct. Several issues must be considered:

(a) In Mallory's research the identity status experts did not derive the prototypes by examining the personality profiles of women classified into particular identity statuses. The prototypic sorts completed by these researchers can therefore only be as accurate as current research in the field. Since the research itself yields conflicting results the prototypes may also reflect the ambiguities present in research.

(b) The Q-sorts for the subjects in the Berkeley Guidance Study and Oakland Growth Study represent composites derived by clinical psychologists. Comparisons of this type of Q-sort with the Prototype Q-sorts compiled by identity status experts may be more useful than comparisons which rely on self-sorts. Self-sorts may be more prone to social desirability. Although we might expect the Diffusion classification to be underrepresented in a sample of adult women returning to college it is also unlikely that women would perceive the characteristics of such a composite as salient in their own personality.

(c) Most of the defining characteristics of the identity statuses evolved from research with younger college students, most often with young men. Research on women is minimal and research on adults even more sparse. Although the identity status interview revised for adults (Waterman, 1982) was used in the research with reentry women, it is possible that adults may not mention earlier

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[2]Robert Owen Senzer

crises that have since been resolved or that the interview probes are not adequately formulated to elicit this information.

In fact, there is some evidence to support the underreporting of crisis during the interview procedure. A question in the College Transition Inventory asked participants the following question:

> During my high school years I went through a period of crisis when I seriously questioned my values (1=strongly agree, 4=strongly disagree)

Approximately 68.3% of the sample agreed or strongly agreed with the statement. While this single question cannot compare to the extensiveness of the interview procedure for determining dimensions of crisis and commitment, it lends support to the notion that earlier crises may not be captured by the interview procedure. An alternative explanation can be derived from recent longitudinal research by Archer & Waterman (1987) where it was found that some individuals distort recall of earlier events by leveling previously reported crises.

Given the prolific research the identity status model generates, attention to the issue of construct validity remains crucial. If future researchers choose to classify by the Q-sort method and make the assumption that the classifications are equivalent to what would have been obtained through the interview procedure there will be problems with inferences from such data since these two procedures may not yield similar classifications. They may or may not be measuring the same construct and caution should be exercised in our interpretations while research continues to clarify and broaden our theoretical understanding of the construct of identity.

Whether Q-sort classifications can serve as proxy measures for Identity Status interview classifications remains an empirical question. We need to keep in mind that even given this possibility the California Q-set serves to provide an overall status classification which may not be useful when questions are targeted for specific content domains. Certainly researchers can benefit from using the Q-set and the five-factor model to expand the base of research that examines the relationship among personality characteristics and identity status classifications.

Table B-1

Q-SORT CORRELATIONS AMONG STATUSES BY PROTOTYPES

	ACHIEVED	FORECLOSED	MORATORIUM	DIFFUSED
ACHIEVED	1.00			
FORECLOSED	.13	1.00		
MORATORIM	.41	- .47	1.00	
DIFFUSED	- .73	- .39	- .01	1.00

Q-SORT CORRELATIONS AMONG STATUSES BY INTERVIEW CLASSIFICATION

	ACHIEVED	FORECLOSED	MORATORIUM	DIFFUSED
ACHIEVED	1.00			
FORECLOSED	.87	1.00		
MORATORIUM	.90	.87	1.00	

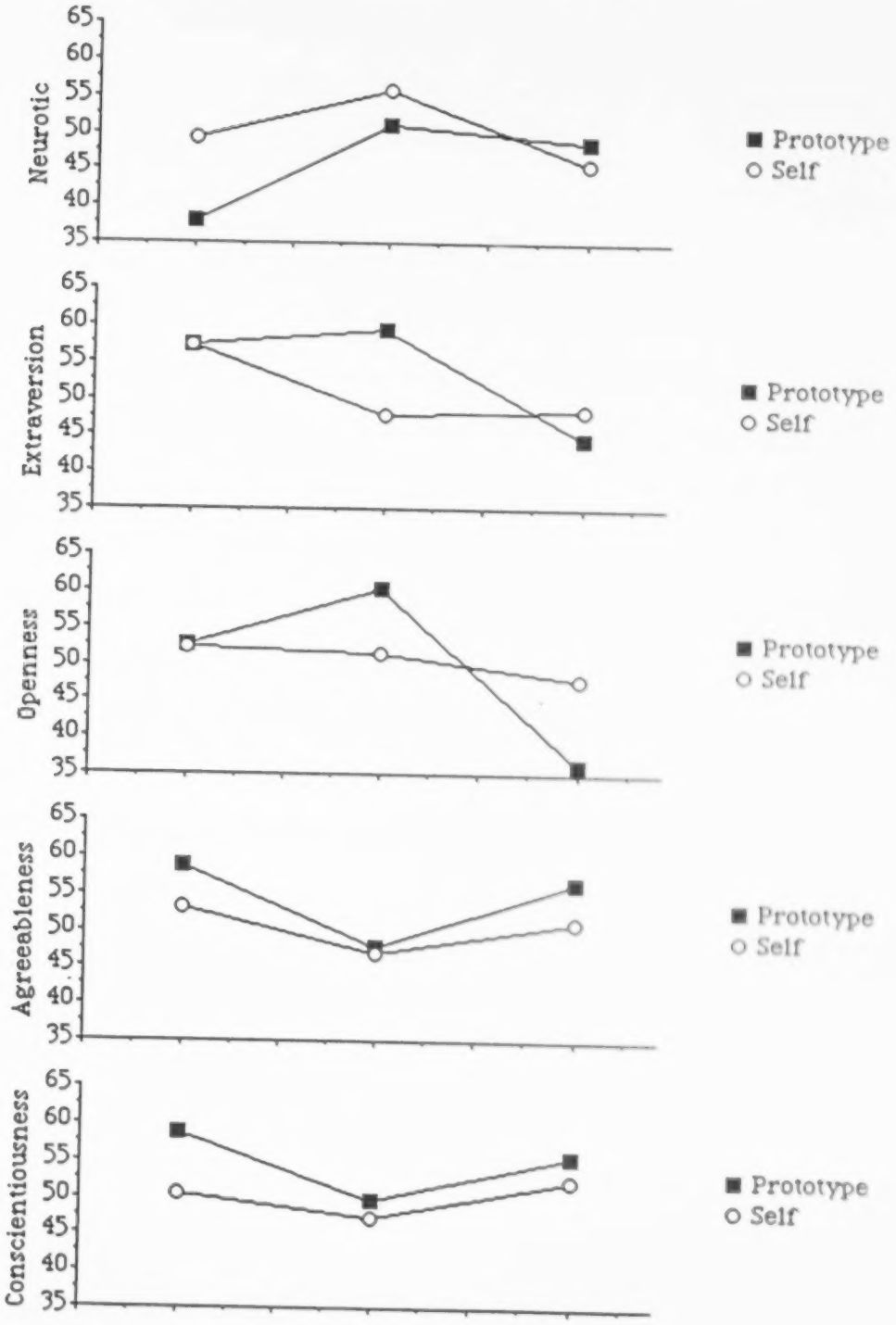
Q-SORT CORRELATIONS AMONG STATUSES COMPARING INTERVIEW CLASSIFICATION WITH PROTOTYPE CLASSIFICATION

	Prototypes:			
Interview:	ACHIEVED	FORECLOSED	MORATORIUM	DIFFUSED
ACHIEVED	.77	.04	.51	
FORECLOSED	.83	.16	.41	
MORATORIUM	.74	.41	.55	

Figure B-1

A Comparison of Identity Status Classifications by Q-sort Prototype and Interview on the Five-Factor Model of Personality

Achieved	Moratorium	Foreclosed
(n=11)	(n=20)	(n=24)



This analysis uses the combined cohorts "overall" identity interview status classifications at the end of the first year of college. Self sorts containing measurement error were deleted.

APPENDIX C

California Q-Set Items Defining the Five Factors

NEUROTICISM

+ 13. Thin-skinned	+ 30. Gives up under frustration
+ 68. Basically anxious	+ 38. Has hostility
+ 34. Irritable	- 98. Verbally fluent
+ 47. Guilt-prone	- 8. Intelligent
+ 19. Seeks reassurance	- 70. Behaves ethically
+ 12. Self-defensive	- 60. Has insight into own motives
+ 82. Fluctuating moods	- 88. Personally charming
+ 72. Concerned with adequacy	- 92. Socially poised
+ 45. Brittle ego defenses	- 83. Sees to heart of problems
+ 40. Vulnerable to threat	- 84. Cheerful
+ 55. Self-defeating	- 57. Is interesting person
+ 78. Feels victimized, cheated	- 24. Prides self on objectivity
+ 10. Psychosomatic symptoms	- 75. Clear-cut personality
+ 50. Unpredictable in behavior	- 74. Satisfied with self
+ 89. Compares self to others	- 33. Calm, relaxed
+ 23. Extrapunitive	

EXTRAVERSION

+ 4. Talkative	+ 18. Initiates humor
+ 54. Gregarious	+ 35. Warm, compassionate
+ 92. Socially poised	+ 28. Arouses liking
+ 52. Behaves assertively	+ 95. Proffers advice
+ 15. Skilled in play and humor	- 79. Has preoccupying thoughts
+ 20. Rapid tempo	- 14. Submissive
+ 57. Is interesting person	- 45. Brittle ego defenses
+ 99. Self-dramatizing	- 30. Gives up under frustration
+ 43. Facially, gesturally expressive	- 25. Over control of impulses
+ 98. Verbally fluent	- 48. Avoids close relationships
+ 29. Turned to for advice	- 97. Emotionally bland

OPENNESS

+ 51. Values intellectual matters	+ 46. Engages in fantasy, daydreams
+ 62. Rebellious, nonconforming	- 26. Productive
+ 39. Unusual thought processes	- 93. Sex role stereotyped behavior
+ 16. Introspective	- 41. Moralistic
+ 8. Intelligent	- 9. Uncomfortable with complexities
+ 66. Aesthetically reactive	- 63. Judges in conventional terms
+ 3. Wide range of interests	- 7. Favors conservative values

AGREEABLENESS

+ 17. Sympathetic, considerate	- 38. Has hostility
+ 35. Warm, compassionate	- 62. Rebellious, nonconforming
+ 28. Arouses liking	- 48. Avoids close relationships
+ 5. Behaves in giving way	- 91. Power oriented
+ 84. Cheerful	- 94. Expresses hostility directly
+ 56. Responds to humor	- 65. Tries to push limits
+ 21. Arouses nurturant feelings	- 27. Shows condescending behavior
+ 88. Personally charming	- 52. Behaves assertively
- 49. Basically distrustful	- 1. Critical, skeptical

CONSCIENTIOUSNESS

+ 70. Behaves ethically	- 46. Engages in fantasy, daydreams
+ 2. Dependable, responsible	- 86. Dissociative tendencies
+ 8. Intelligent	- 58. Enjoys sensuous experiences
+ 26. Productive	- 67. Self-indulgent
+ 71. Has high aspiration level	- 53. Unable to delay gratification
+ 83. Sees to heart of problems	- 80. Interested in opposite sex
+ 51. Values intellectual matters	- 73. Eroticizes situations

Note: All items with loadings greater than .30 are listed.
+ = positive loadings
- = negative loadings